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NEA FOR FRONT OFFICE, NSC FOR ABRAMS/DORAN/MUSTAFA

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/13/2016
TAGS: [PREL](#) [PGOV](#) [KWBG](#) [KPAL](#) [IS](#)
SUBJECT: HAMAS POLITICAL 'GUIDELINES' FIRM ON RESISTANCE,
RIGHT OF RETURN

Classified By: Acting Principal Officer Chris Stevens, per reasons 1.4
(b) and (d).

¶1. (SBU) Palestinian press March 12 carried excerpts of Hamas' political "guidelines" for the next cabinet, first published on a Hamas website, which outline the movement's positions on Palestinian resistance, the inviolability of the "right of return," and parameters for maintaining the "tahdiyyah" (calm). (Note: See para. three for unofficial ConGen-translated version of Hamas text. End note.) The document also outlines Hamas positions on issues addressed in PA President Mahmud Abbas' (Abu Mazen's) February 21 letter to Hamas PM-designate Isma'il Haniyyah: recognition of Israel, adherence to previous PLO agreements, and negotiations.

¶2. (C) Head of the Fatah bloc in the Palestinian Legislative Council (PLC) and Fatah's chief negotiator in recent talks with Hamas regarding government formation, Azzam al-Ahmad, depicted the guidelines as "theoretical" and "unrealistic." Fatah PL member Issa Qaraqah (Bethlehem) March 13 told CnGen Poloff that the Hamas guidelines lacked a sustainable political and social vision. Qaraqah said that Israeli A/PM Olmert's reported plan to proceed with unilateral measures after the March 28 Israeli elections, which he described as "defacto annexation" and a further division of Palestinian areas into "cantons," aligns well with the unilateral vision outlined by Hamas.

¶3. (SBU) The following is an unofficial ConGen translation of the Hamas political guidelines:

Begin text.

General Principles:

- The struggle will continue until we (Palestinians) achieve our rights.
- We accept phased solutions provided they are agreed upon in a national context.
- Israel is an occupying state.
- Conditional "hudna" (cease-fire) is one tool and mechanism.
- The Arab and the Islamic nation is our strategic dimension.

Political Guidelines:

- Resistance is a legitimate right of the Palestinian people.

-- Resistance is a means and not a goal.

-- Inflexible Israeli positions caused the failure of previous negotiations.

-- We shall examine any proposed solution to the Palestinian cause if anybody has such a proposal.

Right of Return:

-- The Palestinian people were forced out of their land and dispossessed of their property.

-- Right of return is a guaranteed right for all peoples.

-- Right of return is an individual right that cannot be compromised.

-- Right of return and compensation is an individual right for all Palestinians.

-- Right of return shall be exercised by returning to the original lands and property.

-- The return of Palestinians to any liberated lands does not constitute a compromise of the right of return to the original lands.

"Tahdiyyah" (Calm):

-- "Tahdiyyah" is a means to achieve national objectives and not a goal.

-- "Tahdiyyah" does not mean canceling the right to resistance by all legitimate means and the right to retaliation for any violations.

-- "Tahdiyyah" is contingent upon a number of conditions. If these conditions are met, then "tahdiyyah" continues.

Conditions of the "Tahdiyyah":

-- To stop aggression against the Palestinians everywhere.

-- To release all prisoners without exception.

Previous Agreements:

-- Our position regarding previous agreements is contingent upon furthering the interests of the Palestinian people. We have the right to consider these agreements in light of these interests.

Recognizing Israel:

-- Recognizing Israel is not an issue to be tackled by a single faction or a cabinet. The entire Palestinian people should address it wherever they are.

Political Negotiations:

-- Negotiations are a means and not an end.

-- Previous negotiations did not achieve the minimal level of Palestinian peoples' rights.

-- If there is a proposal to meet the rights of the Palestinian people, the mechanisms of achieving such rights will be considered.

International Resolutions:

-- We consider the international resolutions to have been issued on humanitarian and noble grounds.

-- Many of the international resolutions and their implementation mechanisms did not achieve the rights of the

Palestinian people.

End text.

STEVENS